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CHAPTER I

THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION

000 IN the present chapter we are to deal with the customs and institutions by which the natives of the Great Andaman regulate the conduct of persons one to another. At the outset it is necessary to get as clear an idea as possible of the structure of the Andamanese society. That structure, as will be shown, is extremely simple.

What is really of interest to the ethnologist is the social organisation of these tribes as it existed before the European occupation of the islands. The changes that have taken place in recent years have been extensive, the most important being the great diminution in numbers and the merging together of what were formerly distinct and often hostile communities. It is fairly easy, however, to discover from the natives themselves what was the constitution of the society in former times, though there remain a few points about which no satisfactory information can be obtained.

621 When the islands were first occupied by the British, before depopulation had affected their institutions, the natives of the [361] Great Andaman were to be found living in small communities scattered over the islands, mostly on the coast, but some of them in the forest of the interior of the island. Each such community, which will be spoken of as a "local group," was independent and autonomous, leading its own life and regulating its own affairs. Each group had occasional relations with other neighbouring groups; visitors might pass from one to another; or the two groups might meet together for a few days and join in feasting and dancing. On the other hand

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groups were at peace[1]. There is no doubt that in the more favourable localities, particularly on the coast, the country occupied by a single group was smaller than in places of less abundant food supply. It is probable that the forest-dwelling local groups occupied considerably larger areas in each case than the coast groups. Some of the coast-dwelling groups seem to have occupied areas of less than ten square miles.

621 [361]

It is not easy to discover at this time exactly what number of persons would have been included in one local group. Mouat, who visited the islands in 1857–8, says of the natives, "They are rarely or never seen living alone, several of their little huts being raised in the same locality, where they dwell together in numbers varying between thirty and three hundred[2]." In another passage he states, "They are generally divided into small groups, the numbers of which vary considerably, some not containing more than ten individuals, while in others as many as two or three hundred may be found. The great majority of these groups of the natives consist on an average of from thirty to fifty men, women, and children, although sometimes as many as three hundred are found together[3]." It is probable that, if so small a party as ten were seen, they were a hunting party spending a day or a few days away from the main camp. On the other hand so large a number as three hundred could only be found together on the occasion of one of the periodical meetings of several local groups for purposes of festivity. Mouat's statement that the groups consisted on the average of from thirty to fifty persons, agrees very well with the statements of the natives themselves, and may be taken as being fairly accurate. Mr Man, writing in 1882, speaks of the Andamanese as divided into communities "each consisting of from twenty to fifty individuals," and elsewhere says that "permanent encampments vary in size and

[1] A few small areas were not occupied at all, for example the greater part of Saddle Peak in the North Andaman, which is covered with dense jungle and is supposed by the natives to be the haunt of large and deadly snakes and of evil spirits.

[2] Mouat, F. J., *Adventures and Researches among the Andaman Islanders*, London, 1863, p. 313.

[3] *Loc. cit.* p. 300.

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adjoining mainland were called *Tarotọlo koloko*. When a man was asked to what part of the country he belonged he would generally answer by mentioning one of the chief camping places of his local group. Thus a man of the *Tarotọlo koloko* might say that he belonged to *Laropuli*, this being one of the chief camps of that country. A man of the *Teraut buliu koloko* might similarly say that he belonged to the village of *Čaičue*.

A man or woman is generally regarded as belonging to the local group in the country of which he or she was born. There is nothing, however, to prevent a person from taking up his residence with any other local group if he so wishes, and if the members of that group are willing to welcome him. It would seem that there were a fair number of such cases in which a man or a woman left his or her own local group to join another. In particular, when two young people belonging to different groups got married they might fix their residence either with his or with her parents.

The local group, as stated above, was characterised as the land-owning group. A man might hunt over the country of his own group at all times, but he might not hunt over the country of another group without the permission of the members of that group. Even at the present day, when the local organisation has largely broken down, some of these hunting rights are still observed. I noticed a case in which some of the men asked and obtained permission to hunt pig in a certain part from a man who was explained to be the owner of that part of the country, being one of the few survivors of the local group to which it belonged. It would, in former times, have been an offence that might easily have led to a serious quarrel for the men of one group to hunt or fish in the country or the waters of another group without having been granted permission to do so.

Within the territory of each local group there are a number of recognized camping places. During the greater part of every year the members of the local group would be found living together at one or other of these. Some of these camping-grounds have been in use for many centuries, as is shown by

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•361 the heaps of refuse many feet deep, chiefly consisting of the shells of molluscs and the bones of animals. Such kitchen-middens, as they have been called, are to be found in numbers all around the coasts of the islands.

In the case of the coast-dwelling communities the camping sites are always close to the sea-shore or to a creek, so that they can be reached by canoe. In the case of those dwelling [312] inland this is of course not so. In any case one of the chief factors determining the choice of the site is the existence of a supply of fresh water. This is of extreme importance in the case of a site to be occupied during the dry season when fresh water becomes scarce.

221 Within their own territory the local group is what we may
361 speak of as semi-nomadic. The coast-dwellers rarely reside continuously at the same spot for more than a few months, but [268] shift from one camp to another, moved by different causes. If a death occurs the camp is deserted for several months and a new one is occupied. A change of camp often takes place at a change of season, some spots presenting particular advantages, such as shelter from the prevailing wind, or better hunting or fishing, at certain times of the year. Another cause of the [364] abandonment of a camp by the coast-dwellers is that all refuse is thrown away close to the camp, and after a few months the decaying animal matter thus accumulated renders the spot uninhabitable. The natives seem to find it easier to move their camp than to clear away their refuse. The truth is, perhaps, that they are so accustomed to change their camp from one spot to another, in order to make the best use of the natural resources available, that there is no necessity for them to take those sanitary measures that would be essential if they wished to remain for many months continuously at the same place.

The forest-dwellers are less nomadic in their habits than the coast-dwellers. One of the reasons for this is that as they cannot convey their belongings from one place to another by canoe, but must carry them overland, the moving of a camp is a more tiresome business with them than it is with the coast-dwellers. During a great part of the year the forest-dwellers

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361 were accustomed to remain at one camp, which was thus the chief camp of the group. In particular they would spend there the whole of the rainy season. During the cool and hot seasons they would leave the chief camp for a few months, leading during that time a more nomadic life, living in temporary hunting camps and paying visits to their friends in other groups. At the opening of the rainy season they would return once more to the main camp.

361
342 The camps of the natives of the Great Andaman may be distinguished as being of three kinds. Of the first kind are what may be spoken of as permanent encampments. Certainly every group of the forest-dwellers, and probably every group of the coast-dwellers had its permanent encampment, which was, so to speak, the headquarters of the group. At this spot there would be erected either a communal hut, or a carefully built village. Communal huts have in recent times fallen into disuse, as the natives now wander about the islands much more freely than was their wont. I did not see a single one in the Great Andaman during my visit, though I was told of one that was falling to ruins in the interior of the Middle Andaman. One such communal hut was photographed in 1895 by M. L. Lapicque, at a spot called *Lekera-l'un-ta*[1]. It was perhaps the last that the natives of the Great Andaman erected. What the communal hut was like it is possible to discover both from the statements of the natives and also from the fact that they are still to the present day used by the natives of the Little Andaman and by the *Jarawa*. The hut was roughly circular in form and might be as big as 60 feet in diameter and 20 or 30 feet high at the centre. The shape was somewhat that of a beehive. Two concentric circles, one of tall posts near the centre and the other of shorter posts near the circumference, were connected by horizontal and sloping roof-timbers, and on these were laid and fastened a number of mats of palm-leaves. These mats reached, as a rule, as far as the ground, a small doorway being left on one side.

Such communal huts, while still used in the Little Andaman

[1] The photograph is reproduced in *Le Tour du Monde*, 1895, p. 447.

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and by the *Jarawa*, and formerly used by the forest-dwellers of the Great Andaman, were apparently not often erected by the coast-dwellers of the larger island at the time the islands were occupied in 1858. Mr Man seems to have regarded them as being peculiarly characteristic of the *Jarawa* and the natives of the Little Andaman[1]. There is evidence, however, that even the coast-dwellers formerly erected such huts, for in the *Akar-Bale* tribe there are several places with names such as *Paruŋ Bud* and *Golugma Bud*, which show that communal huts existed there at some time. The word *bud* is used to denote a communal hut, as compared with a village, which is called *baraiǰ*.

A large communal hut took some little time to erect. The posts had to be cut and erected, this being the work of the men, and the palm-leaves had to be collected and then made into mats by the women. Once the hut was built it would last for several years, and if it were in fairly constant use, particularly if it were not abandoned in the rains, it might be used, with a little occasional patching, for ten years or even more.

Among the coast-dwellers it was more usual to erect at the headquarters a semi-permanent village. A portion of such a village is shown in the photographs reproduced in Plates VI and VII.

The village occupied a small clearing in the forest close to the sea-shore at a place called *Moi-lepto* in the country of the *Akar-Bale* tribe. A spring or soak close to the village provided the fresh water. The site is a favourite one as it is well sheltered, and is within convenient distance of good fishing and turtle hunting grounds. It was formerly one of the chief camping places of the local group known as the *Boroin wa* (Hill people).

The village was composed of eight huts, ranged round a central open space, and all of them facing inwards towards the centre. This open space is kept clear and clean for dancing, and is simply the village dancing ground. Each of the single huts was occupied by a family group, consisting of

[1] See *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. XII, p. 71.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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a man and his wife with their children and dependants. One hut was occupied by an old widower and a bachelor.

The way the huts are built can be seen in the photographs. In the simplest form the hut consists of a sloping roof made of palm-leaves, erected on four posts, two taller ones at the front and two short ones at the back. A hut of this kind is shown in Plate VII. If more shelter is required a second roof is added in such a way that the top of one overhangs the top of the other. In some cases a third roof may be added on one side. In Plates VI and VII two mats of palm-leaf are shown in the course of construction, lying on the ground.

Huts such as these, in which the leaves are first made into a mat which is then attached to the rafters, will last for some time. Even if the village be deserted for several weeks, at any rate in the dry weather, very little work will be needed to make it habitable again when the occupants return to it.

A second kind of camp was made when the natives did not intend to stay more than two to three months. Such camps were erected by the forest folk during the dry season, or at any time when they were compelled to leave their chief camp through the death there of one of their number. Such a temporary camp is always put up in the form of a village, and never as a communal hut. The huts are similar to those already described, but are made more carelessly. The thatching leaves, instead of being made into mats, are simply tied in bundles on to the rafters. A hut of this kind will last quite well for three months or so and it can be built very rapidly at any place where there is a sufficient supply of thatching leaves. At the present day the natives rarely build a permanent camp for themselves, but are contented with temporary camps of the kind here described.

A third kind of camp remains to be briefly mentioned, which we may call the hunting camp. A hunting party (which may include women as well as men) spending a few days away from one of the main camps will erect for themselves a few huts or shelters consisting of nothing more than a simple lean-to of leaves.

Caves or rock shelters suitable for human occupation are

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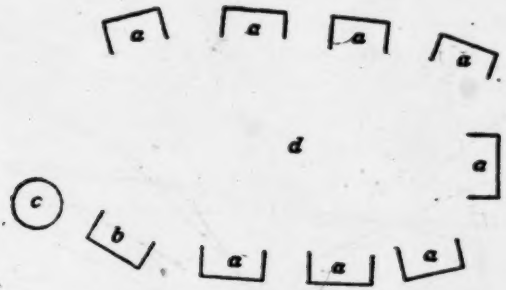
361 342 almost unknown in the Andamans. In the Archipelago there are one or two small rock shelters that are occasionally used by a hunting party away from home for a night. I was told by the natives that on one of the islands off the west coast of the North Andaman there is a rock shelter of a fair size that was formerly used as one of their chief camps.

The following figure will give an idea of the Andamanese village and its arrangement. In hunting camps which are intended only to be occupied for a few days or a few weeks, this arrangement is not observed, but the huts or shelters are placed



Plan of Andamanese Village

a. Huts of married people.
b. Bachelors' hut.
c. Public cooking place.
d. Dancing ground.

so as to give shelter from the prevailing wind with no particular regard to the respective position of the different units.

361 621 The constitution of the local group is illustrated by the arrangement of the village. The whole village consists of a number of separate huts, each hut occupied by a family. A family consists of a man and his wife and such of their children own or adopted as are not of an age to be independent. Besides the families each group necessarily contains a small number of unmarried men and widowers and some unmarried girls and widows. The unmarried men and widowers without children occupy a separate hut (or huts) which we may speak of as the bachelors' hut. Mr Man states that the spinsters (i.e., the

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unmarried women who are of marriageable age) and widows occupy a hut of their own similarly to the bachelors[1]. In the camps that I visited I did not find any such spinsters' hut. What unmarried females there were, I found attached to one or other of the families of the village, each one living in the hut of some married relative, generally the parent or foster-parent.

All the huts face inwards towards an open space which is the dancing ground of the village, and, except in exposed situations, are generally entirely open in front. At some convenient spot on one side of the dancing ground is to be found the communal cooking place of the village. This is generally close to the bachelors' hut, as it is the bachelors who attend to such cooking as is carried on there. Besides the public cooking place each family has its own fireplace in its own hut, on which a fire is kept continually alight. In the village two or more families may build their huts adjoining one another in such a way that they become for all practical purposes one hut, of which each family retains its own special portion. Two brothers will thus often make a sort of common household.

The communal hut, in the way in which it is arranged, and even in the way in which it is built, is really a village with all the huts drawn together so that each one is joined to the one next to it and the roofs meet in the middle. In the centre of the hut there is an open space corresponding to the dancing ground of the village. It is even used as a dancing ground, though for this purpose it is somewhat small. It is the public part of the hut. Around this are arranged the different families, each occupying its own special portion of the hut, which is marked off by means of short lengths of wood laid on the floor. The public cooking place is sometimes inside the hut, and there is the space marked off for the unmarried men. The advantage of the communal hut is that it affords a better protection from the weather; its disadvantage is that it leaves almost no room for dancing.

Thus it may be seen that the arrangement of the camp shows

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 108.

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PLATE VIII

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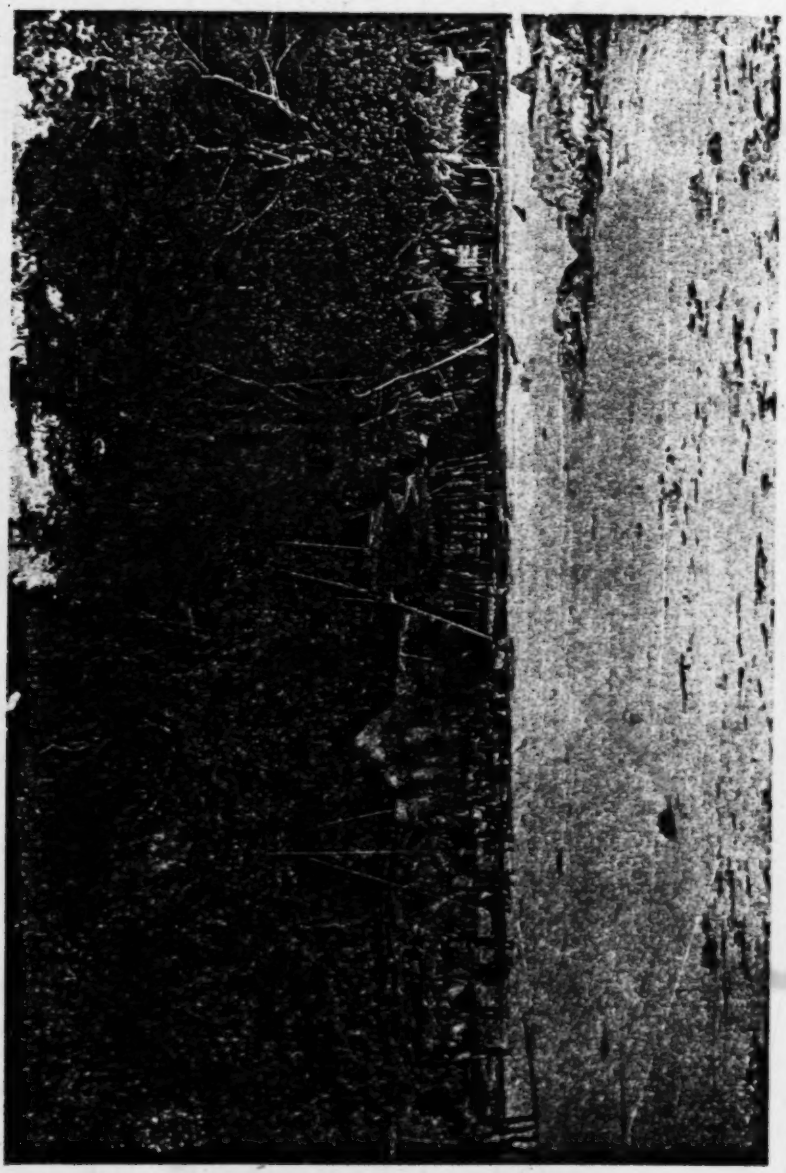

A village of the Middle Andaman

[facing p. 36]

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very plainly the constitution of a local group, consisting as it does of a few families. Each group seems to have contained, on an average, about ten families, with a few unmarried males and females.

The Andaman Islanders depend for their subsistence entirely on the natural products of the sea and the forest. From the sea they obtain dugong, turtle (both green and hawksbill), an enormous variety of different sorts of fish, crustaceans (crabs, crayfish and prawns) and molluscs. Fish and crabs are also to be found in the salt-water creeks which in many places penetrate inland for some miles. From the forest they obtain the flesh of the wild pig, wild honey, and a large number of vegetable foods—roots, fruits, and seeds.

The life of the forest folk is more simple and uniform than that of the coast people and we may therefore consider it first. During the rainy season, which lasts from the middle of May to the end of September, the local group lives at its headquarters camp, which, as we have seen, formerly often took the form of a communal hut. During this season animal food is plentiful, as the jungle animals are in good condition; on the other hand there is not much vegetable food to be obtained. The following brief account will give an idea of how the day is spent in such a camp at that time of year. Some time after sunrise the camp begins to be astir. The various members of the community make a meal of any food that may have been saved from the day before. The men start off for the day's hunting. At the present time dogs are used for pig-hunting. These dogs were obtained in the first instance from the Settlement of Port Blair, and their use in pig-hunting was learnt from the Burmese convicts. Nowadays every married man has at least one dog[1]. Before the dogs were obtained, hunting was a pursuit requiring a great deal more skill than it does at present. A hunting party consists of from two to five men. Each man carries his bow and two or three pig arrows, and one of the party carries a smouldering fire-brand. They make their way through the jungle until they find the fresh tracks of a pig, or follow up some of the usual pig runs

[1] In the North Andaman the times before the Settlement are spoken of as the time when there were no dogs, *Bibi poiye* = "Dog not."

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ground. Such a floor is erected on short posts, and may be made of bamboos or of planks or pieces of broken-up canoes. A floor of this kind, raised a foot or so above the ground, is shown in Plate VII. Huts are sometimes to be seen with a floor raised as much as three feet above the ground.

The simple Andaman hut as above described is entirely open at the front and on each side. In an exposed situation screens of palm-leaves may be erected at the side. If still more shelter is required, a hut may be built with two roofs. Such a hut requires six posts, two taller ones six or seven feet high, and four shorter ones, two on each side. For such a hut two mats are made, and are so attached that one mat projects above the other. No attempt is made to fasten the two mats together at the top, but on the contrary a space of several inches is left between them to allow the smoke of the fire to escape, rain being excluded by the overhang of one of the mats. Huts of this type may be seen in Plate VI.

Each of the huts hitherto described is occupied by a single family. In order to understand the communal huts it is necessary to consider the arrangement of small huts in a camp or village. In the tribes of the Great Andaman there are two main types of such arrangement. The first type is that of the hunting camp, which is occupied for a few nights only. In this all the huts are placed facing in the same direction (to leeward) and in a line with one another. The second type is that of a village to be occupied for some weeks or months. In this the huts are arranged round an open space, all facing inwards, as described earlier in this book[1]. All encampments in the Great Andaman tend to conform to one or other of these types, but variations are introduced according to the nature of the site occupied. Thus in a hunting camp the site may not permit of the erection of the huts in one line. A village is, as a rule, only put up at a spot that has been used from time immemorial, where there is an open space of sufficient size, but if, for any reason, a site is selected where there is not room to arrange all the huts around the dancing ground, the arrangement of the village may be irregular.

The hunting camps of the Jarawa are sometimes arranged on the same principle as those of the tribes of the Great Andaman Division, i.e., all facing in one direction and as nearly in one line side by side as the site will allow.

The natives of the Little Andaman erect hunting camps in the fine

[1] See p. 34.

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361 weather. In the only one that I have seen the huts were arranged irregularly so as to make the best use of the available space.

A few words must be said on the sites chosen for encampments. It must be remembered that the islands are entirely covered with forest. The natives will not, if they can avoid it, put their camp under high trees, for fear of the danger of falling branches in a storm. At the same time they prefer a situation where there is an open space surrounded with forest so that they are sheltered from the wind. The coast-dwellers always camp immediately within the jungle on the shore of the sea or of a creek. The forest-dwellers usually choose a position on a hill or ridge, and this is particularly the case with the Jarawa. The camp must be close to a supply of fresh water. In the tribes of the Great Andaman Division no precautions are taken against a possible attack by enemies, but the Jarawa do take precautions, clearing the trees around their camps so that they have a good view of the approaches, and even, apparently, placing look-out stations at the tops of the paths[1].

Amongst the coast-dwelling tribes there are sites that have been used for encampments for many centuries. At these spots there are found heaps of refuse that have accumulated year by year. These kitchen-middens, as they are sometimes called, consist of the shells of molluscs, bones of animals, stones that have been used for cooking, fragments of pottery, and loam produced from decayed wood and other refuse.

342 361 The two types of camp arrangement which are seen in the village and the hunting camp are exhibited in two different types of communal hut. One of these, corresponding to the hunting camp, may be termed the long shelter. It is apparently only used in the North Sentinel Island. A hut of this type was seen by Mr Gilbert Rogers in 1903. It was rectangular, 40 feet long and 12 feet wide. The roof was supported on three rows of small posts ranging in height from 3 feet at the back to 6 feet at the front of the hut. The roof projected about 2 feet in either direction beyond the posts and was about 2 feet from the ground at the back and 7 feet above the ground at the front. There were twelve places for fires, six in front and six at the back of the hut, and near each, on the right-hand side, was a platform supported on four sticks, of the usual Andamanese type, for keeping food. There were two rows of sleeping places which were separated by small poles, making rectangles on the ground about 5 feet

[1] See *Census Report*, 1901.

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by 4 feet, each of which was probably occupied by a man and his wife and small children[1]. 342

The relation of this type of communal hut, in which all the members of one local group are brought together under a single roof of one slope, to the ordinary family hut of the Andamans, and the arrangement of the hunting camp in a line, is obvious. 361

To the arrangement of huts in a village around a central open space corresponds the second type of communal hut, which may be called the round hut. Communal huts of this type were formerly built by the natives of the Great Andaman Division, but have fallen into disuse in recent times, owing to the natives having become much more migratory in their habits. Huts of the same type are built at the present day by the natives of the Little Andaman and by the Jarawa.

In its typical form this kind of hut is built by erecting two circles of posts, a smaller circle of tall posts, and a wider circle of shorter posts. The tops of these posts are connected by horizontal and sloping timbers, which make the framework of the roof. The roof is made of a number of mats of palm-leaves, which are laid on the rafters and tied to them with strips of cane. The mats are made in exactly the same way as the smaller mats used for the small huts and already described. They are sometimes rectangular in shape, though occasionally an attempt is made to make them narrower at the top and broader at the bottom. They are arranged on the roof so as to overlap one another and thus make the hut rain-proof. They are not joined in the centre, but a small space is left for the smoke of the fires to escape, and the rain is prevented from entering by letting one or two of the mats overhang the others at the top. 342

In the round huts of the Jarawa and the Little Andaman there is no centre-post, and according to the statements made to me by the natives of the Great Andaman they did not use a centre-post for their huts. In the description attached to a photograph in the British Museum Mr Portman speaks of the centre-post of a communal hut, which is shown in the photograph still standing, although the hut had been pulled down. It would therefore seem that in the Great Andaman the natives did sometimes erect a centre-post for their round huts. The typical round hut, however, has no centre-post.

It is clear that the round hut has been developed from the village. If all the small huts of a village be drawn together so as to touch each

[1] Supplement to the *Andaman and Nicobar Gazette*, January 2, 1904.

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neighbouring coast of Burmah, much less of the world at large, and consequently imagined that their islands formed almost the entire terrene area, and that they themselves comprised the bulk of the inhabitants.

7. The few voyagers who from time to time ventured near their shores were regarded as deceased ancestors, who, by some dispensation, had been permitted to re-visit the earth, and who were supposed to live on some small island in the vicinity of their *ē·rema-*, *i.e.*, world. In confirmation of this may be cited the name by which natives of India are to this day called, viz., *chàw·gala* (*lit.* departed spirits).

Etymology.—1. From the following list of some of the numerous encampments of the natives of South Andaman,[1] it will be observed that the names are usually derived from some circumstance peculiar to the spot, or from some tree overshadowing the site:—

.tâ-bô·roga-, coral (*tâ-*), shore (*bô·roga-*).
.tigbang-, rock-hole, there being at that place a hole in a large rock through which a canoe can pass.
.tàrmū·gu-.[2] West (island).
.yū·kala-chàng-, grassy (*yū·kala-*), camp (*chàng-*).
.dū·mla-paicha-òng-, anchorage (*òng-*), in neighbourhood (*paicha-*), of the (*la*), *Dūm-* tree.
.lē·kera-bar·nga-, a row (*bar·nga-*) of *Lēkera-* trees.
.ū·dala lâr chū·lnga-, the spring (*chū·lnga-*), at the (*lâr*, *lit.* of the) *.ū·dala-* tree (*Pandanus verus*).
.chē·la- dôk·nga-, the dragging (*dôk·nga-*) of the ship (*chē·lewa-*). A ship was once wrecked there.
.būd lōt deg·ranga-. Defeat camp; the defeat (*deg·ranga-*) at the (*lōt*, *lit.* of the) camp (*būd-*). There was once a severe fight there.

2. There are a few place-names which are unintelligible to the present inhabitants, *e.g.*, *.lūr·ca-*, *.tū·rubūn-*, though it is believed that they conveyed a meaning to former generations. Many of the names show an old, but unmistakable form of the present language, while others, again, might be judged to be of recent adoption, but they are not so in point of fact.

Tribal Communities.—1. It is no matter of surprise that, during the *first* years of our present occupation, when our acquaintance with the aborigines was so limited, we should

[1] A fairly complete list of the names of these encampments, and the meanings of the greater number of them, will be found in a short paper, entitled "Note on two Maps of the Andaman Islands," by E. H. Man and R. C. Temple, which was published in the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," 1880.

[2] Vide "Astronomy," paragraph 5. (*West*, the disappearing face place.)

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

361 have failed to learn that there are permanent encampments and kitchen-middens in the heart of the jungles of Great Andaman; but, since it has been recently asserted in a paper[1] by one of the officers long resident at Port Blair, that, to quote his words, "No tribe of Negritos in the same stage of existence . . . . as the Andamanese could exist in the Andaman jungles," it is very necessary to expose his error, for repeated inquiries and personal observation prove the accuracy of the account given by one of the inhabitants of the interior of Middle Andaman, named *Wō·i*, that during the entire year the jungles afford them ample sustenance.[2]

829 184 2. All the tribes with which we are acquainted possess terms denoting—1, a coastman; 2, a fisherman; 3, a creek man; and 4, a jungle-man; the two former being applied to those living by the shore, *àryô·to-*, and the two latter to those living inland, *ē·remtâ·ga-*, whose subsistence depends on the spontaneous products of the jungle, which they all agree in describing as amply sufficient for the support of many times their present population.

184 3. The coastmen are divided into two classes, viz., those who are chiefly employed in constructing canoes, turtle-lines, &c., and those who are engaged in fishing and turtling, but each acquires a certain knowledge of the duties of the other, and also of hunting the *Sus Andamanensis:* in the latter accomplishment, as well as in finding their way through trackless portions of the jungle, they are naturally surpassed by the natives of the interior, who display in these, as in other respects, all the dexterity and intelligence peculiar to savages similarly situated in other tropical regions.[3]

4. Although these two distinct sections (*àryô·to-* and *ē·remtâ·ga-*) still exist in a measure among the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, as among the people of Middle Andaman, many of their more marked characteristics have become so blended or modified, in consequence of the establishment of the homes, that it is difficult in many cases to determine to which class certain individuals originally belonged. This, it will be understood, is because those of the *ē·remtâ·ga-*, who have accompanied parties of the coastmen in

[1] *Vide* "Proceedings Asiat. Soc. Bengal," July, 1876.

[2] With reference to the above, Mr. W. T. Blanford, F.R.S., remarked at the meeting at which the paper in question was read, that "it is very difficult for a civilised human being to understand how savages live, or even to conceive what a marvellous variety of animal and vegetable productions, on which savage man, at any rate, can subsist, are to be found in the forests of all tropical regions." He added, that it was his belief that "man could certainly find food wherever monkeys could exist."

[3] *Vide* "Physical Powers and Senses," paragraphs 5 and 6, and "Communications," &c., paragraphs 4 and 6.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

184 world: on their arrival at Viper Island, they saw, for the first
115 time, Europeans, and a mode of living of which they could have previously formed no idea. *Wō·ī's* companions returned to their tribe after spending a few months with us, but he, having lost his heart to one of the South Andaman houris, was without difficulty induced to remain behind, and settle down in our midst as a married man. As he speedily acquired a knowledge of the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* dialect, we were enabled to question him on various points, besides those referred to in the statement which forms one of the appendices to this volume,[1] and thus learned much that was before unknown concerning the habits of the inland branch of the *.ôko-jū·wai-* tribe: the information thus obtained, when compared with the result of our own observations of the customs and mode of living of the communities in the vicinity of our settlement, afforded convincing proof of the universality of the customs and practices of the respective classes of *àryô·to-* and *ē·remtâ·ga-* throughout Middle and South Andaman.

8. In Dr. Mouat's book mention is made of the capture of a youth, nicknamed "Jack," after a hostile encounter with some of the natives of Interview Island, from which circumstance it may be inferred that the lad belonged to the *.âkà-.ked·e-* tribe, only one member of which had, till 1879, stayed amongst us, and he is an *e·remtâ·ga-*, who had travelled out of curiosity as far as Middle Strait, and from thence had been persuaded by the chief of that district to accompany him to Port Blair. He proved himself very intelligent and active in all jungle accomplishments, but was entirely ignorant of fishing and turtling After remaining with us a few months he was taken (in March, 1879), at his own request, to a point on the north-west coast of Middle Andaman, and landed with a heap of presents: his home, he informed us, was situated midway between that place and the east coast.

361 **Nomadism.**—1. Nomadism appears to be almost, if not
[768] entirely, confined to the *àryô·to-*, and even among them there are hamlets which are only abandoned temporarily, as with
221 the *ē·remtâ·ga-*, in consequence of a death, or of a *jeg-* (*i.e.*,
166 "corroboree"), at some neighbouring encampment.

2. The nature of the temporary migrations which take place among the *ē·remtâ·ga-* during the dry season, as well as of those necessitated by a death, will be explained in subsequent sections. In the case of the *àryô·to-*, migrations are occasioned by a variety of circumstances, as, for instance, fishing operations being rendered impossible by a change in the wind, the

[1] *Vide* Appendix F, a free translation of which will be found in "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xi, pp. 283–2

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

suitability of a particular spot for fishing and turtling during certain phases of the moon, on account of the character of the foreshore, or the configuration of the coast, and the hope of meeting with better luck elsewhere—to these might be added the love of a change, and the prospect of seeing some of their friends; but it must not be supposed that a long journey is thereby involved; the move being generally made to a spot only a mile or two further on, and thus, by short stages, they sometimes proceed along the entire coast-line of their tribal territory, spending a few days or weeks at each halting place, according to the special attractions it may happen to possess in affording good sport on land or sea, or in supplying a rich harvest of fruit, honey, &c.

3. The necessity of a migration is also frequently forced on them by the consequences of their neglect to sweep away the refuse of their meals, it being regarded by these *insouciant* and unclean creatures as not worth their while to take so much trouble, when only a short stay is contemplated.

4. That the necessity for observing *some* sanitary measures has long since been recognised by the Andamanese is evident from the existence of numerous kitchen-middens throughout their territory, many of which are doubtless of remote origin. These refuse-heaps are still in course of formation by communities living at a distance from Port Blair, and are invariably found near camping grounds which have been, or are still more or less, permanently occupied. In those sites, where they are not seen, evidence is at once afforded of the temporary nature of the occupancy: the rubbish and refuse of food in these latter places is only swept aside if the ground be needed for a dance, wedding, or other ceremony, so that injury may not befall the revellers through inadvertently treading on a bone, stone, or shell. Crows, hermit-crabs, and, of late years, dogs, are the principal scavengers of these ill-ordered and dirty habitations, the two former performing their useful office as soon as a migration takes place.

Habitations.—1. We will now pass to the consideration of the three varieties of huts which are commonly met with in the permanent and temporary encampments throughout the territory of the eight Great Andaman tribes, and which are known as *chàng-tĕ̄pinga-*, *chàng-tŏ̄rnga-*, and *chàng-daranga*.

2. To commence with the *chàng-tĕ̄pinga-*, which is made by men, and erected in all permanent encampments as being the most durable. No particular kind of wood is used for the posts, which are four in number, two in front and two in rear, the former varying from six to nine feet in height, and the latter from two to three feet; upon these, slender rafters and two light transverse poles are secured, so as to form the framework of

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

I have often come across one of their temporary habitations, which consists of a hole scooped out in the sand, beneath an over-hanging rock, large enough to contain a single person." As these savages are *never* in the habit of sleeping on the sand, or in holes scooped in the ground, but on a mat, or leaves spread under one or other of the three varieties of huts described above, it is difficult to account for what Dr. Dobson saw, unless they were the resting places of ticket-of leave fishermen or convict runaways. No other explanation than this could be given when some aborigines, and an experienced attendant at the homes, were questioned by me on the subject. One other solution only is possible, and that is, that the "holes scooped out in the sand" were the result of a game of mock burial, which, as I shall mention under "Games and Amusements," is rather a favourite recreation of the *dryó·to-* children.

7. The majority of the Great Andaman huts[1] partake of the character of a lean-to, the only respects in which the three varieties differ being[2] size and durability. They are found either standing alone, or, as is more especially the case in permanent encampments, so joined together as to form (at least, in their owners' eyes) a commodious as well as a weather-proof dwelling; and, constructed, as they usually are, in well-sheltered localities, away from the prevailing wind, they fulfil all the requirements of a savage home.

8. Permanent encampments vary in size, and consist of several huts, which in all are rarely inhabited by more than from 50 to 80 persons, though they are capable of affording accommodation, of a kind, to a much larger number if necessity arise as happens not unfrequently when festive tribal gatherings are arranged in honor of a wedding or other occasion of rejoicing.

9. The permanent encampments of the *dryó·to-* are established in those sites which offer special advantages for fishing and turtling at all seasons. Wherever there is a fine stretch of sandy beach, with an extensive foreshore, they will be invariably found, for, at such places, throughout the year the women are able at low tide to catch fish in pools with their hand-nets, and to collect large quantities of shell-fish; while, during the flood

[1] One of the huts in the *jâr·awa-* territory, between Port Blair and Port Campbell, when visited a few years ago, was found to measure 46 feet × 42 feet; and Mr. Homfray, in 1867, described the huts at Little Andaman as capable (*more Andamanico*) of accommodating 100 persons, being 50 feet in diameter and 30 feet in height. The leaf employed by this tribe for thatching purposes appears to be invariably the variety called *ôm-*, and not the *châ·ngta-*.

[2] The largest hut of the ordinary type is rarely found capable of accommodating more than six persons. Sometimes these huts are placed together so as to resemble small sheds, but as this has hitherto been seen only in or near South Andaman, it is possible that the form of our barracks gave rise to the idea.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

tides, the men enjoy exceptional facilities for shooting fish and harpooning turtles, &c.

10. Although the sites selected for occupation are usually well-sheltered, it is not always found possible in tempestuous weather, even in the dense jungle which covers every portion of their country, to obtain shelter sufficient to allow of their huts being so placed as to face inwards towards the *bū'lum-*, or dancing ground. The primary consideration being naturally to secure as much comfort as possible, the sloping roof is at such times presented towards the prevailing wind.

11. The following diagram will give a general idea of the plan commonly adopted in laying out an encampment consisting of several huts, though the form depends much on the nature of the ground, and on the relative position of the surrounding trees, for they do not consider it worth their while to fell these, or to clear away anything but the lightest brushwood for the mere purpose of providing space for their huts, and dancing ground. Another point to be taken into account is the possibility of accidents being caused by falling branches, and, therefore, when erecting their frail dwellings, they are careful to guard against this danger as far as possible, and so much judgment do they display in the matter that accidents of this nature are comparatively unknown.

a. Married persons.[1]
b. Bachelors.[1]
c. Spinsters.[1]
d. Public cooking place.
e. Dancing ground (bu'lum-).

Government.—1. The entire country is apportioned among the various tribes, and the territory occupied by each is considered the common property of all its members, and not as belonging exclusively to the chiefs.

2. Their domestic polity may be described as a communism modified by the authority, more or less nominal, of the chief. The head chief of a tribe is called *mai'a-iglā'-*, and the elders, or sub-chiefs, *i.e.*, those in authority over each community, consisting of from 20 to 50 individuals, *mai'ola.*

3. The head chief, who usually resides at a permanent

[1] Even at the homes they are careful to maintain this order, viz.: of placing the bachelors and spinsters at either end of the building, and the married couples in the space between.

3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

000 We turned back from this and went west and turned south at 10-35 A.M., following down a stream which flowed into the same salt water *khori*, which was here 50 feet wide. We reached the *khori* the second time at 10-45 A.M. and swam across it. My watch got under water and stopped and my revolver also got wet. We crossed a ridge to the west of the *khori*, and came into a fresh water stream flowing south which we followed, and soon picked up a well defined track going along the flank of a low ridge with gentle slope going south. We followed along this for about 1¼ miles and came on to a large hunting camp with six huts, which had been recently occupied. The huts were arranged as shown below. The arrows show the entrance into the huts.

361

[see p. 82B]

The Andamanese were satisfied that this was a hunting camp on the Jarawa path going south and that we should find another large hut, if we continued to march south along the track.

000 Decided to return to Pochang as it was about 3 o'clock and consult with Mr. Vaux and find out what he had found. Followed the track, which was most distinct the whole way right back to the Jarawa camp at Pochang. Found Mr. Vaux in camp. Mr. Bonig had come and had gone out to look for tracks. Mr. Vaux had not come upon any tracks and we decided to move camp the next day to the camp I had found. Mr. Bonig did not come back this night.

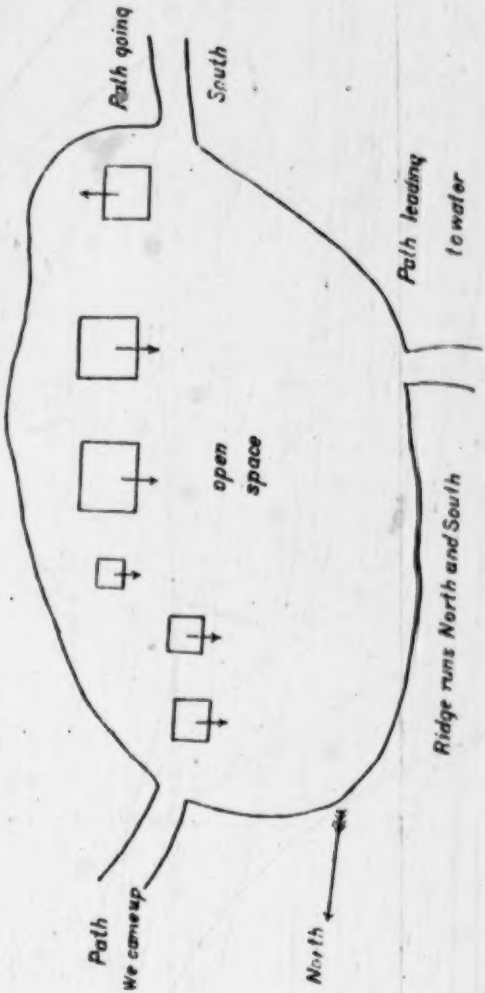
23rd February.—Waited some time for Mr. Bonig, and as he did not return, left a message for him to say where we had gone and moved our camp to the Jarawa hunting camp that my party had found the day before. Followed along the Jarawa track and reached the camp about 2 P.M. Blazed trees along the track to show Mr. Bonig where we had gone.

When we were about one mile from the camp an Andamanese (Daniel) caught us up. He had been sent by Mr. Bonig to tell us that he was going back to Pochang, as he thought we were looking for him. Daniel told us that Mr. Bonig had fever and was going back to the launch. About half an hour before nightfall, however, Mr. Bonig arrived. He had felt better when he reached Pochang, so came on and joined us instead of returning to the launch as he had first intended to do.

We came part of the way another route to the Jarawa camp and passed through another camp, which Mr. Bonig had seen yesterday and also found his footprints, so knew that he had come the way we had yesterday. He must have followed the track which led to the camp I found for a long way, and eventually gone off to some other track, where they had found fresh Jarawa tracks; which shows how extremely difficult it is to follow a Jarawa track, even when you have found it. The Andamanese called this camp Gorlakabang.

[p. 82A]

361


Path going
South
Path leading
to water
open
space
Ridge runs North and South
Path
We came up
North

[P. 82 B]

3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

361 There were six huts in this camp arranged as shown below. The thatching leaves were still green.

000 We reached this camp about 10-30 A.M. and went on along the flank of the hill and then down a stream, both going generally south. About 11-30 A.M. we heard the sounds of an axe and also voices, which were Jarawas'. So we at once retired up the stream, while the Andamanese went down a little way to see where the camp was, or if it was a camp. They came back soon after to say there was a camp with six huts and probably eight men belonging to it. So we decided to wait till evening till the men had come home with their bows, arrows, and tools, and to rush the camp when the moon rose, and try and capture a woman to suckle the Jarawa baby Mr. Vaux had taken. It was of no use taking the camp till the men had returned, as they would have their bows, arrows, and tools with them.

We waited till the moon was almost visible and then started down the stream towards the camp. It was too dark, so we soon had to halt until we could see a little better. After two halts we came to a more open place, from which we thought we could see the red glow of the smouldering logs of the Jarawa fires and after a short halt crept on once more. Three Andamanese went first, then came Mr. Vaux holding the hand of an Andamanese, I held Mr. Vaux's hand, Mr. Bonig held mine, the Policeman held his ; and so on.

We crept down into a depression and then seeing dimly huts in front of us, Mr. Vaux sprang up and rushed forwards to the nearest hut. I followed, passed him and rushed into a hut to the left. The Andamanese behind us fired arrows into the huts, while we were rushing on them. One shot was fired. My *mallah*, Sher Khan, followed me. I caught sight of a figure trying to escape and found that I had secured a woman with a baby. My *mallah* secured another woman with a baby.

Soon after this Mr. Bonig came to me and said that Mr. Vaux was badly wounded and he thought was done for. As soon as I could see some one to whom I could make over the woman I had caught, I went to Mr. Vaux's help, as Mr. Bonig had come to me a second time. Meanwhile the sepoy and Mr. Vaux's Burman (a free man) were firing carbines. I did not use my revolver. When I came to Mr. Vaux I found him in a semi-unconscious state, and he died two minutes afterwards.

When Mr. Vaux had passed away, I stopped the indiscriminate firing of carbines which was going on, secured the prisoners, two women and six children, including two babies, and posted the sepoy on one flank of the camp, some Andamanese to look out all around the camp, and went to the other flank myself, while Mr. Bonig stayed mid-way between myself and the policeman. The moon was not very bright, so it was impossible to make a thorough search of the huts, nor to make our way back : so I decided to stay where I was till daylight appeared and then to search the camp thoroughly for tools and pots, etc., and if possible to get back to the steam-launch with Mr. Vaux's body. The police sentry stuck to his watch well all through the night.

Mr. Bonig, self, and sentry fired shots occasionally to show the Jarawas we were on the alert and to prevent a night attack. The Andamanese gradually all fell asleep and it was very hard to keep any of them awake, but Mr. Bonig, self, policeman, and my *mallah* kept watch the whole night through. We were not attacked and I was very thankful when the first rays of dawn became apparent.

25th and 26th February.—As soon as it was light enough I sent off two Andamanese to fetch six policemen to help to carry Mr. Vaux's body.

We then made a thorough search of the camp and found one axe of European manufacture, several Andamanese adzes, and two rude knives, probably made of dahs, and a number of honey-pots, etc., of which we took away as many as we could, as well as all the bows and arrows that we could find.

Daylight showed that the huts were arranged, as shown below, on a flat piece of land in the bend of the stream. 361

[See p. 85B]

The stream had well defined steep banks from 3 to 6 feet high around the camp; where we entered it, the bank was about 4 feet high. No dead bodies of Jarawas were found in the camp, and we did not go down the stream to look for them.

As it was a very long way from the launch I had to push on as quickly as possible, so as to reach the launch before nightfall. The place where Mr. Vaux was killed is called Wibtang, and it had taken us three days to get from the launch to this spot. The Andamanese know the names of these places, as they once occupied this country and were driven out of it by the Jarawas, when they were pushed north by the expansion of the settlement. 000

Mr. Vaux's body was slung to a strong bamboo and hung down from it and the bamboo was carried by:—(1) the policeman, (2) my *mallak* Sher Khan, (3) Mr. Vaux's Burman, (4) Mr. Bonig's Burman, until the Police met us and after that it was carried by the Police to the coast.

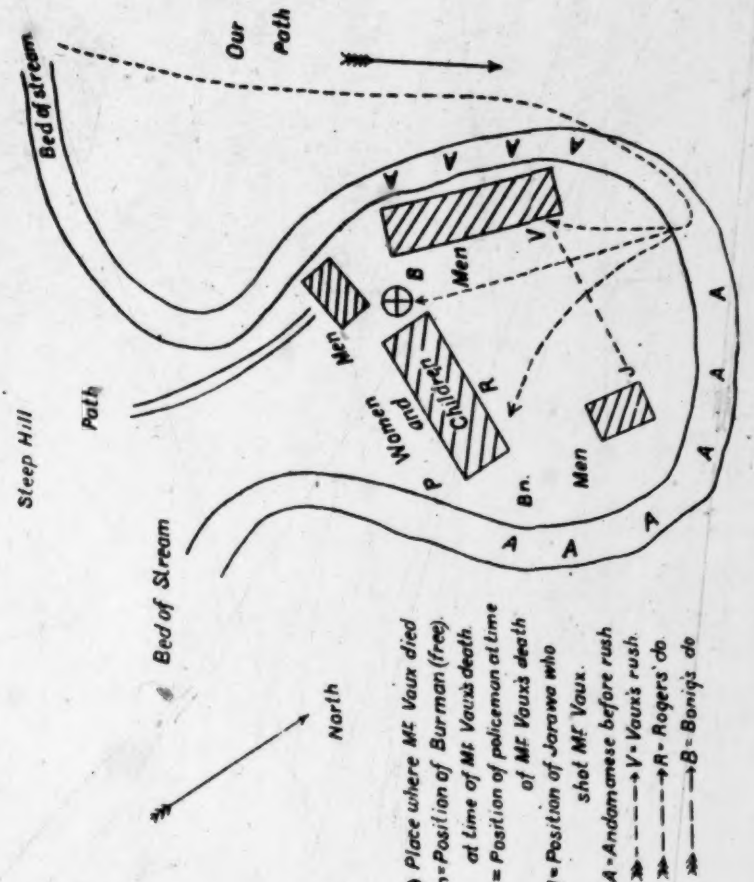
The policemen behaved admirably. They met us about half mile to the south of the Raims Camp on the high hill (intersection point on survey map). We left the camp which we had rushed at daybreak and must have reached the camp where the policemen were left behind about 11 o'clock. The women and children came with us quite cheerfully and willingly and gave us no trouble.

We halted about quarter of an hour at Gorlakabang Camp, where we all had some food, while the things were packed up, and then pushed on to Pochang Camp, leaving behind us what rations we had not consumed, so as to lighten the loads to be carried as much as possible. About 4 miles from the Pochang Camp Mr. Bonig, who was in the front part of the line, told me that Andamanese Mathew had been shot in the arm by a Jarawa. Shortly before this some of the Andamanese with me told me that they thought they had heard some Jarawas going on ahead.

Mr. Bonig then led the line, while I stayed in the rear with two policemen and three Andamanese, and I put some more policemen in the middle, and after a temporary halt pushed on as fast as we could, keeping all close together and firing at intervals to keep off the Jarawas. I was not told how many Jarawas had been seen and what they had done, so was anxious until we had got right out to the estuary. We reached the estuary of Dum-la-c'orag about 5-30 P.M.: so if we consider that we walked 1½ miles an hour, which I think we did, we must have covered about 17 miles of country.

[p. 85A]

361


Our Path
Bed of stream
Steep Hill
Path
Bed of Stream
North
Men
Women and Children
Bn.
Men
B
R
P
J
V V V V V
A A A A A A
⊕ Place where Mr Vaux died
Bn = Position of Burman (free) at time of Mr Vaux's death
P = Position of policeman at time of Mr Vaux's death
J = Position of Jarawa who shot Mr Vaux.
A = Andamanese before rush
V = Vaux's rush
R = Rogers' do
B = Bonig's do

[P. 85 B]

crew of the ship called him 'Raja' and we adopted this name (*see* Plate IV, Figs. 1 & 2). He was the only one among the Onges who was fully armed with knives, bows and arrows. Among the contents of the canoes, we found complete fishing out-fits, bows and arrows, ropes and nautilous shells, for bailing out water. There was also a kind of bamboo float about 1½ ft. long, probably used for turtle fishing. We gave them food, cigarettes and other presents. After they became quite familiar with us and friendly, they were subjected to full anthropometric measurements by me. Their blood was also tapped by Mr Sarkar for typing. The presents given were iron nails, strips of red cloth, tea and tobacco leaves. Among all these objects what they liked most were the tobacco leaves. Cooked rice, dal (cooked lentils) and fish curry served to them from the launch Mess were however not much appreciated. With the few Hindi words that they were able to understand, we told them that we would like to visit their camp next morning and meet other members of the party. After the canoes had left, we anchored at this point for the night and after taking an early breakfast we left for the shore in two batches. We were informed by the crew that the creek near the Onge camp was called the *Dugong Creek*. We had to wade through brakish water and coast fringing with coral beds for about two miles, before we reached the Onge settlement. There was one large circular communal hut characteristic of the Onges and several lean-to's (*see* Plate I, Fig. 2). We noticed three canoes on the beach apparently those with which they came to meet us on the previous day. We saw also several small dogs and the entrails of a pig strewn round. We met all the 12 Onges we saw the day before, along with Ukla and his family. In addition there were a number of women and children. We took out our presents of dried tobacco leaves, iron nails and two large fishes that we had caught on our way from Port Blair. These were distributed to the Onges. There were altogether 17 men, 15 women, 4 boys and 3 girls. The children were between 1½ to 4 years. The entire party of Onges behaved towards us in a friendly manner and subjected to our measurements and tapping of blood from their fingers without any protest. We went inside their hut and inspected the settlement very thoroughly. A large number of photographs were taken. We found that the name of this village was *Tambebui*. As it became rather late, we decided to return to 'Molly' in the Andamanese canoes, rather than walk through the coral beds for 2 miles. The Onges understood our signs and gladly escorted us back to the launch. We found there were several other Onges waiting for us in the launch who came from the neighbouring village *Gabilong*. All of these Onges appear to be under the influence of the man nick-named as 'Raja' (*see* Plate IV, Figs. 1-2).

We could not proceed towards Hut Bay as the launch had to return for duty at Port Blair, where we reached at about mid-night.

After reaching Port Blair, I discussed the matter of transport with the Chief Commissioner, Mr Majid. A thorough coastal survey of Little Andaman would take at least 15 to 20 days. As it was found impossible to get either from the Forest Department or from the Harbour Master any of their launches

K 361 [162] A 114 there were no Andamanese there, but 400 people consisting of 133 males and 130 females who migrated from Bassein in 1924. They were Karen Christians who had settled there. After returning to Long Island on the 12th, Mr Sarkar and party left in the motor boat "Return" for a short cruise along the Jarawa country. Besides Mr Joseph, there were Mr Pooviah and a few of his Burman Bush Police armed with rifles and guns. The party passed through the Homfray's Strait and anchored at the north eastern corner of the Spike Island. Loka and his party of three Andamanese accompanied them in their two canoes. They came to the shore in one of the Andamanese canoes and after entering the forest they found A [501] bundles of bamboos piled up at one corner. This was identified as a Jarawa raft. There were also three paddles made out of a palm tree. These specimens were procured for the Department. After proceeding some distance in the jungle, 19 small fire places were counted in scattered manner. A temporary hut was also noticed at a short distance. A number of objects usually A [342] [885] [411] [531] used by the Andamanese tribes for household purposes was found including a sling for carrying babies. A beautiful specimen of a Jarawa Bow painted in red in geometrical designs was also found. Photographs were taken of the settlements of the Jarawa camp and objects collected for the Museum. In another place at *Yeratiajig* remnants of a Jarawa camp including pottery and bones of animals, etc., were found. The party returned to Long Island on 14-3-48 and examined 8 of the remaining members of Loka's party. It left the same day for Port Blair where it arrived at 10 P.M. On the 25th Mr Sarkar and his party with the Deputy Chief Commissioner Mr Gupta, left for Kar Nicobar where it arrived on the following day. It returned to Port Blair after staying for a few days. During this time in Kar Nicobar, besides studying the Nicobarese of the Island Mr Sarkar met two Jarawa children who were captured and brought over there and placed in a local Mission School for education.

In the following year in January 1949, another small party was sent under Dr A. K. Mitra with Messrs H. K. Bose and A. Bhattacharyya, to continue A [361] [342] [350] [354] [162] [125] the survey of the Little Andaman further along the eastern coast. They visited *Hut Bay* on the 28th and went to the Onge settlement there. A large circular hut similar to that seen by us at Tambebui was observed. It contained nine cots with a fire place in the centre. There were also two outrigger canoes, one in front of the hut and another on the beach. Altogether 11 Onges were found consisting of 2 adult males, 6 females and 3 young children between the ages of 6 to 15. The 8 adults and the adolescent boys were carefully measured and observations noted about their special somatic characters. After leaving Hut Bay they went as far as the South Point which is the southernmost point on the eastern coast of the Little Andaman, but did not see any other Onge settlement. They had to return on the 31st as the launch could not be spared any further.

A 142 164 The Onges were found to be strong and healthy and free from venereal disease, a scourge, which along with tuberculosis were chiefly responsible for the rapid depopulation of the Andamanese tribes. Our observations agree A 142 with the accounts of the Negritos of the Andaman Islands published before

Blood Groups from the Andaman and Nicobar Islands

By

S. S. Sarkar

The following blood group data were collected during the months of February-April, 1948 in the course of a visit to Little Andaman, Long Island and Car Nicobar by a party under Dr B. S. Guha from the Department of Anthropology, of which the present writer was a member. The data grouped according to the different tribes are as follows :—

143
21
114
[128]

Onges

34 Onges, 19 males and 15 females, were grouped from the island of Little Andaman. They were collected from the settlements round about Bumila Creek, Dugong Creek and the village Tambebui on the N. E. part of the island. The blood group distribution is as follows :—

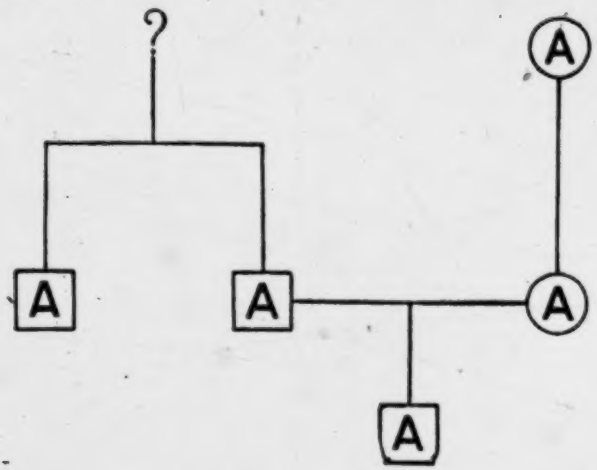
125
361
143

O	5	14·71%
A	23	67·65%
B	2	5·88%
AB	4	11·76%
	34	

The predominance of group A was already noticeable from Chaudhuri's (Gates, 1940) earlier study of 5 Onges, 3 of whom belonged to A and 1 each to Group O and B.

This will be also apparent from the following pedigree, where three generations show only A.

[601]



[p. 25]

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

torches for hunting by night. There were pigs everywhere. In half an hour we often got six or more of them. At Chemalê, far from the coast, we had eleven in a few minutes for distribution to everybody, including roaming Onge. Pigeons and ducks also were often plentiful. The simple pleasures of hunting incited everyone to a spontaneous daily struggle through the dense forest ; and so, every month, I managed to carry out many times the work I could have done had I not kept all the men glad to follow me. On seven different occasions I spent 162 days in Little Andaman, out of a total of 634 days altogether in the Andamanese Archipelago – all of them given up to Onge research. These trips are recorded in Port Blair Government offices. A few details on the subject are published in the "Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology", Government of India, starting in Vol. II, No. 1, 1953 (issued in 1956) and extended to other issues. Such papers were hurriedly prepared by me while I was halting in Calcutta on my way from the Andamans to Europe. Press proofs could never be submitted to me; there are, consequently, many misprints, particularly in the figures relating to my Onge Census. The misprints are so obvious that they could only influence a most biased critic : to be discussed in future papers and while my Onge book is in preparation. In Port Blair (South Andaman) I started an Onge Museum with material collected by me. I had the honour of inaugurating it on 6 July, 1953 in the presence of the Chief Commissioner for Andamans and Nicobars, Mr. A. K. GHOSH, one of the kindest and most intelligent Indian gentlemen that it was my pleasure to meet in Asia. On 9 March, 1954 Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD, President of the Republic of India, also visited the Museum. On that occasion I introduced to him 30 of my Onge friends (wives, husbands and children) in their most natural attire. The President questioned me at length on Onge anthropology and ethnology with the pertinence of a specialist.

While in Little Andaman I tried to study all possible aspects of Onge life. I also tried to count the natives : a very difficult task for they are a nomadic people, ready to vanish into the jungle at any moment. Often I was surrounded by them without seeing a single one. In the darkness of their jungle, the small, black, naked Onge easily disappear. They see us but we do not see them. They can only be counted in their sleeping quarters in communal huts ; even so, results are misleading. I found a number of communal huts in the interior regions of Little Andaman, whereas previously they were said to exist only on the coast. The larger, more solidly built huts are in the forest. With the help of my Indian assistants I obtained plans and photographs of all the huts that I saw. Unfortunately the number of Onge communal huts is rapidly diminishing – a very significant fact. Many are in ruins, many more completely destroyed. Only kitchen-middens and occasional clusters of planted bamboo indicate their former location. Through an interpreter, and with two Onge speaking a little Hindi, I was able to gather information on these and other matters. Direct observation, however, proved the best way of gaining knowledge. In some places there was nothing to help me, and I was compelled to guess about communal huts whose inmates chose to hide in the jungle. Of the many personal names that I collected I must say that they are reliable only for a short period : the Onge like to change their names from time to time. All this, in addition to the Onge's nomadic way of life, causes great confusion and makes a proper Census almost impossible. Frequent changing of names also hinders the establishment of genealogies. Furthermore, the Onge custom of adopting children shifts many of them from one family to another, and adoptive parents invariably claim them as their own offspring. The parents themselves, who are ignorant of numbers, not infrequently forget how many children they have, who these children are and where they are located. It was almost useless to follow previous information concerning communal huts ; and so I decided to consider mainly the situation existing at the time of my visits. The result of my Census may be imperfect, but before criticizing it it would be advisable to know the conditions that prevail in anthropological work among the Onge. Something more than merely counting people, anyhow, was achieved by me in Little Andaman.

In this short paper I am pleased to present a peculiar aspect of Onge life, an aspect that these innocent and once hostile people did not attempt to hide from me, though they also told me nothing about it. Only direct observation could help, and it involved pro-

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

tracted hardship and considerable risk, not so much from the natives themselves as from the implacable Andaman sea. We had a terrible time during several of our landings from the open Indian Ocean. Constant danger additionally stimulated the development of research in Little Andaman. All the Indians and the Burmese behaved bravely. Among them I wish to mention here my Indian stenographer, a married man nearing thirty, from Bengal: RANHADIR KUMAR DEY, who, on 12 and 13 February, 1953, on the south coast of the island shared two frightfully narrow escapes with me. I am sure that neither of us will ever forget it. I later found a comfortable landing place, now indicated by floating buoys, on the north coast. Two other Bengalese assistants who were a great help to me in Little Andaman and had been selected from a number of young aspirants, are PRONAB GANGULI and BIMAL CHANDRA ROY. My work in the Andamans could not have been accomplished without them and without the initiative and encouragement of officers such as Dr. B. S. GUHA, Director of the Department of Anthropology of the Indian Government, Mr. AJOY K. GHOSH, the kind, open-minded Chief Commissioner of Andamans and Nicobars during my 1951-1953 stay there, and Mr. S. N. MAITRA, who succeeded Mr. GHOSH as Chief Commissioner. In a book that I am writing I try to point out the significance of my work in the Andamans, carried out with the help of such distinguished, and sometimes heroic, Indian collaborators.

I. Hygienic Conditions

1. Habitation

The nomadic Onge have two kinds of shelter: one temporary, the other permanent, used only for short periods at a time. The Little Andaman forest is full of abandoned temporary shelters; the permanent camps are fewer, mainly situated along the coast. They consist of communal huts, strongly built by a number of families roaming under the direction of a leader. The huts have a ritual significance, as we shall presently see. Inside each communal hut are a number of beds generally equal to the number of families. Small fires are kept burning day and night near the beds, a precaution that I was thankful for on many cold nights succeeded by hot days. The Onge require nothing more against the cold. In their camps they can withstand the heaviest storms and drenching rains. In order to avoid chills it is enough for them to protect their fires from extinction. This applied to me too, while living among the Onge. The warmth and the dry air ensured good health for us all.

A few additional beds are for the use of bachelors nearing marriage. Most of the beds are marginally and radially placed; a few are placed transversally. Normal beds accommodate father, mother (the Onge are monogamous), children and dogs, all in a heap. In temporary as in permanent shelters it is customary for families to eat separately, each close to its bed. The low, round roof of the communal hut does not reach the ground; a gap of 30 cms is left free for creeping in and out at will without using the main door (a simple mat to be lifted). Rubbish is thrown carelessly everywhere, e. g. directly outside the circular hut, which is consequently surrounded by a malodorous ring of bones, imperfectly cleaned shells, bits of rotting shellfish and other animals – a rich breeding ground for flies and various other insects that rapidly destroy everything edible, leaving the grass to grow until the next lot of garbage accumulates. Building and rebuilding a communal hut always on the same

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

spot for centuries leads to the formation of kitchen-middens [1]. In the temporary camps something similar happens: the only difference consists in the fact that rubbish dumps only accumulate at the back of the temporary shelters, as a consequence of their peculiar shape that I shall not describe here. These dumps are heaven-sent love nests for insects of many species, mostly flies of a metallic green colour. They follow the Onge from camp to camp and thrive on scraps from human meals. When travelling in Little Andaman I was unmistakably warned of the nearby presence of Onge camps by the appearance of those familiar living beings.

The filth that coats the floors of communal Onge huts offers an ideal breeding ground also for myriads of fleas. Dogs spread them all over Little Andaman. Owing to the fact that the communal huts are deserted for months at a time during the dry season, the fleas become hungry and assault human beings vehemently whenever possible. When visiting empty communal huts I myself, and the persons with me, were plagued by such assaults. Fleas advanced suddenly from feet to head in thick, shimmering brown layers, covering first our legs. We were obliged to strip and douse ourselves with insect-repellents. As for other parasites, including ticks and mosquitos, equally plentiful in Little Andaman, the Onge do not appear to be inconvenienced by them.

The communal huts are used for another purpose as well, unhygienic but of high ethnological interest: the interment of human corpses. When they die, the inmates are buried beneath their beds. In other words, communal huts are also cemeteries. Many human skeletons are found by digging under the beds. Until 1952 this fact was unknown about the Andaman Islanders although it is encountered in all Onge communal huts without exception. An analysis of this custom led to further discoveries: the Onge wish to compel the spirit of a deceased person to remain close to the living as a protection, so they offer it the communal hut for an abode, the idea being that a spirit cannot wander far from the bones of its former body. A series of Onge practices point to this belief: felled enemies must be burned and reduced to ashes in order to render them harmless. Their hostile souls, according to the Onge, rise toward the sky in smoke as the bones are consumed. For the same reason, bones of relatives are fashioned into necklaces. The most conspicuous of these is the *ibidanghe*, worn generally by women and young girls, which is made from a decorated human jawbone. The aim is to obtain the assistance of the departed relation in fighting illness and bad luck. Direction in hunting, fishing and even quarrelling is supposed to come from the dead kept close to the living. We can trace this belief on the connection between bones and souls to a remote origin: Southern Asia megaliths had, in my opinion, no other cause for offering shelter to spirits and promoting useful relations between the living and the dead. I reached this conclusion after studying the contemporary habits of Travancore mountain and other Indian tribes, particularly the Munda. In Nias we find traces of the same customs as among different peoples of Indonesia and Oceania, who

[1] I discussed this at the two international anthropological congresses of 1952 (Vienna) and 1956 (Philadelphia), and have more to say on the subject in my book about the Onge.

7: Sarkar D-4, 5 (1948) 1960 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

161 the actual Onge population. He has estimated the population instead of giving a simple
162 population figure for each of the Onge settlements he visited. His estimates are based
114 on the number of sleeping places in a hut, though nothing definite could be found either with regard to the total number of communal huts or the sleeping places. Then, to find out the sex of the individuals from the sleeping places seems preposterous. CIPRIANI (1956) estimates the total Onge population to be 607, comprising "229 adult men, 241 adult women and 137 children". He was able to determine the sex of the children in about 80 % of the cases, since immediately after the above quotation, he states: "Of the latter 48 are boys, 62 girls, and of 27 sex could not be ascertained". In the same paper and just two sentences before, where he gave the above figures, he mentioned a total of 497 individuals, comprising 242 men and 255 women. If the latter figures are meant only for adults then with the addition of 137 children to the above adult population of 497, the total Onge population appears to be 634. Even then the discrepancies in the adult population remain to be explained; it adds up to 470 (229 males, 241 females) once and to 497 (242 males, 255 females) another time.

The only thing that has some value in the demography of the Onges is that he has collected personal names of 107 adult males and 105 adult females. It is not known why the children have been excluded. At any rate, the personal names indicate a slightly higher number of males (50.5 %) than females while the total estimate for adults shows a hitherto unknown Onge sex ratio. With an adult population of 229 males and 241 females, the sex ratio works up to 48.7 % males and 51.3 % females.

Population estimates are always hazardous and, from all reports, the Onges appear to be a dwindling population. R. F. Lowis, the Census Superintendent for the Andamans during 1911 and 1921 was frank enough to admit in 1921 that his 1911 estimate was "too high", though he gave one for 1921.

It is surprising that neither the Andaman Government nor the Department of Anthropology provided CIPRIANI with an assistant, trained among aboriginal people, who could have been of much help to him. At least the Onges could have been counted in each of the localities visited.

361 **Settlements.** — The typical Onge settlement is the communal hut, which is
[342] usually located on the beach. CIPRIANI mentions the communal huts in the interior of the island, but does not describe their details.

During the 1911 and 1921 Censuses coastal trips round the island were made and the former Census provides a very good map with the names of twenty settlements
[103] scattered on the island. The names are: 1) *Tambeibui*[4], 2) Uede, 3) *Nachuge*, 4) Tochiewo, 5) Tochengedu, 6) Quoname, 7) *Geejege*, 8) *Ingoi-tijala*, 9) *Endea-geleda*, 10) To-to-bwe (unoccupied), 11) *Titugalanie*, 12) *Toibalawe*, 13) Tordeada (unoccupied), 14) *Kwanie-tu-kuage*, 15) Koreale, 16) Porale, 17) *Chetamale*, 18) *Titaiye*, 19) Ogechai, 20) Obate.

The names of the settlements visited during the 1921 Census are given at the beginning of this paper. It was also mentioned that 14 huts were seen in comparison to 19 (this will probably be 20) in 1911. The names of 15 settlements could be gathered from the Census Report of 1931 and the 10 settlements italicized above can be rather easily correlated with those of 1911.

114 CIPRIANI's map is again difficult to follow. Firstly, he has not given any idea of the
361 medium of language by which he communicated with the Onges. He has located in his map 18 existing coastal huts, of which the name of one between Otirubara and Benyaboi is missing. The position of the "supposed" huts within the jungle is misleading. Was he equipped with surveying instruments? Then he mentions 11 huts which are "no more in existence". How were they recognised? In what earlier context have they been identified as such? Only five of the eleven names (Obate, Palalankwe [or Kwalalanque, according to CIPRIANI], Ogechai, Ingoi-tijala and Chetamale) could be correlated with earlier records. Of the 20 coastal huts listed by him four (Nachuge, Geejege [or Gaje, according to CIPRIANI], Titaje and Tambeibui) could be correlated with the names of the 1931 Census map.

[4] So spelt in the 1911 Census.

7:Sarkar D-4, 5 (1948) 1960 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
.Onge

and seven with those of the 1911 Census. The total number of twenty existing huts, however, agree in both CIPRIANI's map and the 1911 Census map; only names differ. It would have added greatly to our knowledge had CIPRIANI based his investigations on the 1911 Census map and commented on each of the place names given therein. He also mentions two huts in ruins besides eleven "no more in existence". There is no mention of any newly built hut. All this proves the decadent condition of the Onges. The coastal huts are probably more numerous than those within the jungles and their total number appears to be constant both in 1911 and in 1953.

The Onges have, in recent years, been visited so many times by anthropologists that a well-directed effort could have brought the whole population into a few genealogies — an elementary task in anthropology.

Postscript. — CIPRIANI has now (1959) published[1] the Census figures of the different communal huts. Instead of clarifying the earlier anomalies stated above, his recent population figures have raised further complications, as will be discussed below. CIPRIANI now (1959) mentions in a footnote on p. 89 of his paper that 195 individuals, comprising 48 adult males, 44 adult females, 22 boys and 11 girls, *have beds in different communal huts*. He gives a total population figure of 394 (130 adult males, 129 adult females, 65 boys and 70 girls) obtained by actual Census from 21 communal huts. To this total figure of 394 he adds another total of 175 individuals (adult males and females 74 each, and 27 children, the latter shown as "males" on p. 90 but as "siblings" on p. 76) estimated for another 7 communal huts. Thus according to a Census of 21 huts and an estimate of 7 others, CIPRIANI now finds a total Onge population of 596, in comparison to his earlier variable figures stated above. There is no attempt to explain the discrepancies in the population figures. It is also unknown why the population of the 7 huts could not be censused, although all of them were visited between March 22 and April 4, 1953.

It is now apparent that his method of Census of the Onges is untenable since about 31.7 % (125 out of 394) of the population have beds in different communal huts. This is in harmony with the roving nature of the Onges, but it shows that only about one third of the population is migratory and about two thirds sedentary. This is probably not true for the Onges. At least, the fixed nature of beds in the communal huts loses its significance and is probably an uncertain criterion for an Onge Census.

As to a recalculation of the Census figures for each of the 21 huts, it is seen that the total population appears to be 382 (129 adult males, 126 adult females, 64 boys and 63 girls) instead of 394 given by CIPRIANI. This definitely shows high masculinity not only among adults but also among the children. With an adult population of 129 males and 126 females the sex ratio works up to 50.6 % males and 49.4 % females, the excess of 1.2 % being statistically significant.

In the present publication CIPRIANI has published personal names of 133 adult males and 140 female adults, but the Onge habit of frequently changing names, mentioned by him on p. 70, has not been substantiated. Since the same issue of the journal contains an anthropometric study of the Onges, in which names of the individuals measured were noted, it would have been worth while testing how far the Onges practise the above custom. As will be obvious from the foregoing as well as from this P. S., CIPRIANI has not started with the known to unravel the unknown.

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[1] L. CIPRIANI, A Survey of Little Andaman during 1954. Bull. Dept. of Anthr. 3. 1959, pp. 66-94.

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

123 The second trip was made on March 12th 1948. Our party included Mr. JOSEPH and Mr. POOVIAH [1], both Sub-divisional Officers of the forest department, one Burman bush police and four Andamanese with their two canoes tied behind our motor boat. We followed the same route from Long Island and, reaching Spike Island, we anchored at its northeastern corner. We came ashore in the canoes. The beach was small and rocky. Part of it was sheltered on one side by huge rocks behind which the Jarawa were known to waylay those approaching from the sea. So we landed very cautiously. Just at the outskirts of the jungle we saw huge bundles of short bamboo lengths tied to one another and piled up in a heap. It was a Jarawa raft. Near the bamboo pile were three crude paddles split from the spadix of the palm called *Nipa fruticans*. We were all the more careful in our approach.

Soon we came upon a clearing in the jungle. There was no Jarawa, but all around we saw traces of a temporary halt of a large party. We counted nineteen fireplaces. At a distance from the fireplaces we saw a small temporary hut improvised out of the materials available on the spot. Two small shrubs were tied together on two sides to form the roof of the hut. The Andamanese identified it to have been made for the Jarawa chief and his wife. Household objects lay scattered about. Three bamboo cylinders, closed at one end by the natural node, were found next to three of the fireplaces. They are used for carrying water. A dark coloured modern glass bottle, probably acquired during a raid, was also found. One fireplace had a small compartment enclosed by a few wooden posts a few yards off. The Andamanese identified it as an enclosure for keeping a child at a safe distance from the fire. This was probably correct as there was also a baby sling made of bark, exactly similar to that used by the Onge for carrying a baby on its mother's back (VON EICKSTEDT, 1934, fig. 211). At one corner of a fireplace the shavings of an arrowshaft or a bow were seen and nearby was a flat round pebble, one end of which was broken like that of a scraper (fig. 3). This scraper showed marks of red ochre on it. Beneath a tree a circular mat, sewn out of three pieces of long triangular palm-like leaves was spread out, while on its branches was found a beautiful specimen of an unstrung bow. It appeared to have been recently prepared and

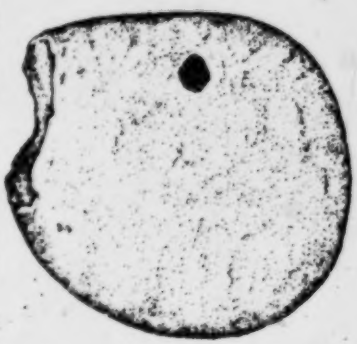

Fig. 3

[1] These two officers captured two Jarawa males, one adult and one boy, on October 19th 1948 on Spike Island. They were brought to Port Blair, wherefrom they managed to escape at night.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

The contact of the Onges with the outsiders can only be traced since the efforts of M. V. Portman[1] to establish a friendly relation with these tribes from 1886 onwards. However the earlier contacts with the Chinese and Japanese were possible because these people used to frequent the shores of Little Andaman for collecting the valuable shells and the Onges used to be engaged by them as divers and in reciprocation they were given presents of alcohol and opium. In the initial stage of the attempt for establishing a friendly relation by Portman, the Onges proved themselves hostile which was evidenced from the poor fate of the crews of a ship 'Assam Valley' when it touched the shores of Little Andaman and it was through the great efforts of the punitive expedition led by W. L. Much that the dead bodies of the crews were recovered. Later on, a few Onges, all on a sudden, arrived at Cinque Island and were captured by M. V. Portman. Only 9 of them were detained and the rest 15 were released. These few captured Onges were closely observed and studied in Port Blair by Portman and were ultimately returned back to their native land, Little Andaman. The friendly treatment and the presents that these Onges had received from Portman, paved the path of establishing friendly relations with the Onges much easier and also made the subsequent visits of the foreigners much more welcome. After Portman, a few more contacts were made with the Onges by Prof. Lapicque in March, 1893, during the operations of 1911 and 1921, undertaken by Eicsktedt, a German anthropologist, in 1827, by Dr. B. S. Guha, Ex-Director Anthropological Survey of India in 1948 and by Lidio Cipriani, an Italian anthropologist in the year 1954 and in a few succeeding years. Still the knowledge about the Onges seems to be meagre.

Living exclusively in the Little Andaman and a few of them in the Rutland Island, the Onges live in groups on a septal basis with clear-cut boundaries of hunting group for each group. There is no permanent habitation or village of the Onges in any part of the Little Andaman and their huts are of two types—(a) the permanent type of communal hut called *bera*, and (b) the temporary type of shelter called *korale*.

The abundance of food and water has made the life of the Onges comparatively easy-going. All the groups are headed by a leader and each group is assigned a fixed territory. The community life seems to be extremely democratic in character which entertains and also maintains a perfect individual freedom and only in times of necessity, advice.

1 Portman, M. V—History of one relations with the Andamanese.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

101 mans. They live in the North Sentinel island and Portman had only made a few observations in the abandoned settlement of these aborigines. In 1886, Portman contacted a few Sentinelese with the help of a few [197] Onges. The affinity of the Sentinelese with the Onges have been detected but the language of the Sentinelese is different from the Onges. However, only later researches can reveal more facts about their lives.

PRESENT DAY DISTRIBUTION OF THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION

101 The islands, though remained essentially a land of the aborigines, have
161 a present day distribution which is very much discrete in nature. The
● 361 nature of the distribution was very likely much more widespread in different parts of the islands but the great decline in their number coupled with gradual expansion of the area of the later settlers led to a continued recession of the aborigines in the more desolate areas. Thus there has been a great shrinkage in the territory of the aborigines of the South Andaman where no settlements of any importance had developed.

There are only a few Andamanese (23) who are still now surviving in [177] the Middle and North Andamans and they live in the huts built up by the Forest Department.

The exact areas of inhabitation of the Jarawas are anybody's guess. Though the Jarawas have suffered a considerable decline in their number, no evidences of their distribution beyond the South Andaman are in view. Living under the cold patronage and hostility of the neighbours, the *Aka-beas*, a sub-group of the Andamanese, the Jarawas were always subjected to all their efforts of territorial expansion. Though their exact areas of distribution have not been traced so far, it is probable that they live in the dense forests of the South Andaman, especially in the least disturbed and unhaunted forest areas of the west. However, their biggest concentration is believed to be between Port Constance, Port Meadows and Shaol Bay.

The Sentinelese inhabit the North Sentinel Island and only further exploration in the island can furnish an idea about their exact spots of distribution.

The most predominant in number are the Onges who inhabit the [484] island of Little Andaman. However they make occasional voyages to the Rutland and Cinque Island where some of them live. The areas of distribution of the Onges in Little Andaman are mainly in the coastal areas of the northeast, south and west and also in the interior.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

This speaks very well how in some isolated spots of the islands a remnant of the widespread negrito of the past stand on the verge of imminent decay.

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AREAS OF DISTRIBUTION
OF THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION

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131
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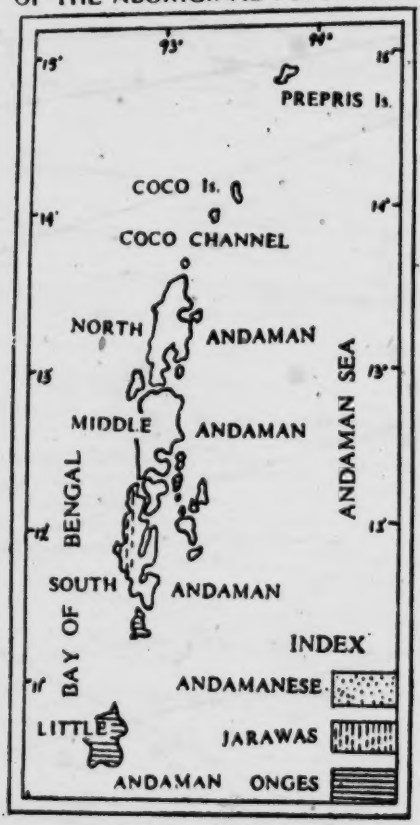

DEMOGRAPHIC SET UP

161

A group of aborigines with their pristine culture in these isolated islands are sharing the same fate with many other aboriginal population of the world, of a considerable decline and impoverishment. It is be-

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

were approaching an Onge camp. Everywhere they go they are accompanied by flies of all sizes, and in Little Andaman the swarms are so bad that the first stranger to land called a river after them, Bumila Creek, or fly river. Their flies betray the Onges long before the barking of their dogs – no human voice ever betrays their silent presence.

On Little Andaman today the Onges' tacit divisions of territory are of little importance, so heavy has been the fall in population, but they still keep out of areas belonging to other 'huts', even if the huts themselves have been abandoned. I never saw any disputes over territory, or the ownership of the area in which a pig was caught (and hence ownership of the pig). The Onges who accompanied me, possibly encouraged by the prestige value of a European with them, hunted wherever we went without anyone raising any protests. Nevertheless, I always took the precaution of giving anything I or my Indians took to the Onges of the nearest hut, invariably much to their delight.

Contrary to established opinion, communal huts on Little Andaman are not found only along the coasts; the majority, and certainly the best constructed, are in the interior. Togalanghe is one, and there are a number of permanently abandoned temporary camps near it.

Both the permanent and temporary huts or shelters of the Andamans resemble those of the Semang. The latter are extremely simple, especially in the dry season; there are no walls and only a very sloping roof of leaves, high at the front and very low at the back, the beds being put so that the feet face the low part of the roof. With the Semang and Aeta the beds may be made of bamboo; this is never the case in the Andamans, as there are no large bamboos in the archipelago (Brown was wrong in this respect. The few slender bamboos on Little Andaman are only usable for making drying racks, which are found only round the hut at Beniabol in the south. As the people were away when I went there, and the site was consequently completely deserted, I was unable to establish visually what they dried, but traces of fish, particularly pilchards, were indication enough.)

These temporary shelters are put up extremely quickly. Two poles less than two metres long for the front, and two more, thirty to forty centimetres long, for the back, are fixed firmly into the

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

352 The beds are supported on four convenient branches forked at the top, on which the four poles forming the bed frame rest. The size of the frame varies between 1·55 × 0·65 metres and 1·15 × 0·43 metres, and on this small platform the entire family sleeps huddled 513 together. The human members of the family lie longwise, all with their heads on the same log set as a head-rest (unless they are lucky enough to find a suitable giant bamboo washed up on the beach). Very occasionally a rush mat about half a metre square is laid on the platform, but usually the family just lies on bare canes packed tightly together on the frame parallel with the long side.

342 The hut at Tambe-e-buiè, its 1951 edition delayed till 1952 by 352 the earthquake the previous year when part of the coast dropped, 184 was rather larger than Toqué-è-bùie. In 1953 it was rebuilt twenty [731] metres or so further back from the sea, but exactly as before. It has twelve beds, including two on the high platforms for the adolescents, one of which has two tiers, on the principle of our bunks. I saw this type of thing on a number of occasions and on one occasion I saw one being built out in the open, with the top platform three metres from the ground. All the beds at Tambe-e-buiè are rather higher than at Toqué-è-bùie (but not as high as Beniaboi) and were all arranged radially; the platform on which meat was kept was two metres off the ground.

342 An unusual feature of Tambe-e-buiè, which had a diameter of 184 13·55 metres and a maximum height of 4·5 metres, was a series of six vertical poles set in a straight line to support the main transverse beam, one of which could be regarded as a centre pole. The pole on each side of the centre formed part of the innermost circle of supporting poles; there were two more circles, all supporting rings of canes. Unusually, only one of the rings of canes supporting the roof did not rest on vertical poles. The outer ring was only 0·4 metres high and the edge of the roof almost touched the ground, although one could still brush the fronds apart and crawl out. The roof mats were rectangular, very well made, and larger than at Toqué-è-bùie; some were three and a half metres by three metres or more, laid over seven or ten split reeds, instead of the usual four or five.

312 No permanent hut, or even a temporary shelter, is ever built far [361] from water supplies adequate for the number of people in the group. If there is none visible, the Onges know how to dig for it,

of growth of the kitchen-middens), judging by the number of shells in the deposits. On Great Andaman, on the other hand, the Jarawas, unable to keep dogs for fear of revealing their whereabouts with the barking, continued as they had always done, and the gradual disappearance of their middens was due not to any change in eating habits but to the breakdown of the communal hut system. Among the Arioto, already decimated for over a century by fighting with the Eremtaga, the dog seems to have had no effect on the situation, as the Arioto had dogs as far back as 1857. Possibly they regarded them in the same way as the Onges who, though deeply attached to them and quite incapable of eating them at any time, never go so far as to bury their bones in the middens; the carcase is thrown out into the forests for the monitors and the termites to dispose of. It is also probable that the introduction of the dog came too late, when the Arioto were already too depleted numerically for any change in their eating habits to be appreciably reflected in their middens.

In both Great and Little Andaman the middens are found only where the communal huts have been constantly rebuilt on the same sites. Where the ground permits, the base circle (or rarely, the ellipse) has been moved somewhat from side to side, without, however, greatly affecting the regularity of the shape. At Totamaddalù on Little Andaman I was interested to see that although the diameter of the midden lessened as the numbers of the group occupying the hut dwindled, the site remained unchanged. Today the base area of the midden is very extensive compared with the size of the hut now built on it, but its anthropological value is thereby increased.

The advent of the dog into the archipelago in about 1857 vastly increased the amount of meat available to the Andamanese. Once introduced into Little Andaman[1] the dog population increased explosively, as the Onges dare not kill any of the pups; the women even go so far as to suckle motherless pups themselves. This inordinate love of dogs has allowed the animals to become a pest. They already considerably outnumber the human population; families of only three or four people may have ten or twelve dogs,

[1] The dog reached Little Andaman only at the beginning of the present century; von Eichstedt in 1928 noted that the Onges had very few of them.